

were. But before asking government what they were about to do, he wished to know what they had already done. He had said last year that if the government had adopted a tone more worthy of this country, they would not have been plunged into war; nor, after a careful

persuade of the voluminous blue books lately issued, had been found cause to change his opinions. Comparing the contents of various dispatches on various stiles, he argued that the Ministry had overlooked the most obvious facts, had misunderstood the most manifest tendencies, and trusted to the most evidently fallacious assurances. Declaring that the tragedy of Sinipo impeached the honor of England and required ample explanation, he drew evidence from the published documents to show that the Admirals of the united

deeds might have prevented the catastrophe, or that the Turks by themselves have averted it, if it had not been for the timorous and vacillating instructions sent out by the British government. He inferred from their recent language that they would still treat on the basis of the *status quo ante bellum*, which presumed stop be condoned. He called upon the government to do

Sir James Graham, with his generous efforts, answered him that they must either put their consciences in Ministers or turn them out. But "meanwhile don't let us *putter over blue books*." They had been deceived by Russia, who was an old and faithful ally of Great Britain, but "dark, malignant suspicious did not easily take root in generous minds." This old fox, Sir Robert Peel's "dirty little boy," the murderer of the Palmiras, was quite charming with his "generous candour," and his "plausibility to mislead."

Then came Lord Jocelyn and Lord Dudley Stuart, whose speeches filled the poorer the next day, but brightened the house on this evening. Mr. Roebuck next commenced by defending the ministers for their conduct in a delicate situation, but ended by declaring that it was now time for the ministry to *declare clearly what they intended to do*. Lord John Russell, on the plea of answering the question, rose, gave an apologetic recapitulation of the history of the late differences, and when he had convinced himself that this would not do, declared he was willing to tell them "what they intended to do;" a thing he himself may not have been quite

of. According to his statement they had entered into some vague sort of alliance with France, not by means of a treaty concluded, but of notes interchanged. England and France were now proposing to Turkey also a sort of treaty, by virtue of which the Porte should not stir for peace without their consent. They had been cruelly overcome by the incredible perfidy of the Emir. He (Russell) desired of peace being preserved. They were likely to enter on war. He consequently wanted some 250,000,000 more than last year. Secretary made the condition of success in war and there- fore he could not tell them just now what they were to do in that war. As the latter, or theatrical part of

The speech was performed with great force and with much moral indignation at the Czar "the butcher," the applause was immense, and the House, in their enthusiasm, were on the point of voting the estimates, when Mr. Diernell interceded and succeeded in adjourning the discussion to Monday evening.

The debates were resumed yesterday evening and concluded at 2 o'clock, A.M.

First rose Mr Cobden, promising to confine himself strictly to the practical question in hand. He took great pains to prove from the blue books, what was denied by nobody, that the French Government had no intention of making Russia the western

Minister's international dispute, by one means or another, the French Government, through the intervention of Mr. Lavallette respecting the Holy Places and the concessions it wrung from the Porte. The French President, who, at that time, had some expectation of becoming Emperor, might have had some wish to make himself political capital by making these demands upon Turkey on behalf of the Latin Christians. The first movement of Russia, therefore, was traceable to the proceccings of France, in this matter. The non-signature of the Vienna act had been the fault of the allies, not of the Turkish Government, because, if it had been threatened with the withdrawal of the Russian Cossaks, the Porte would immediately have acceded to the demands which were insisted upon.

Turkey, and during to do that by a note to Russia which we intended to ask her to do for ourselves, viz. to give us a guarantee for the better treatment of the Christians. The vast majority of the population in the Ottoman Empire was looking with eagerness to the success of that very policy which Russia was now pursuing (as now every Christian in the East is) and we thought that they would be glad to see that the evils and oppressions under which that Christian population lived, could not be tolerated—referring principally to dispatches of Lord Clarendon, ostensibly written with the view to make out a case for the Czar. In one of these dispatches Lord Clarendon writes:

The Porte must decide between the maintenance of an enormous religious principle and the loss of the

was a very important factor in the question like the House of Commons. I think it possible that a population like the Anatolian Mussulman population of Turkey would abandon its religion? And without total abandonment of the law of the *Koran*, it was absolutely impossible to put the Christians of Turkey upon an equality with the Turks. We may as well ask Mr. Cobden, whether with the existing State Church and laws of England, it is possible to put a view before us, when we are told that the Christians and the Brights? Mr. Cobden proceeded then with a view to show from the letters of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe and the British Consular Agents, that there exists a general dissatisfaction throughout the Christian population in Turkey threatening to end in a general insurrection. Now, let us

Mr. Cobden asks Mr. Cobden whether there does not exist a general dissatisfaction with their government, and whether ruling classes, among the nations of Europe, are not generally so treated as to be tempted to terminate with a revolution? If Germany, Italy, France or even Great Britain had been invaded, like Turkey, by a foreign army, hostile to their Governments and appealing to their insurrectionary passions, would any of these countries have as long remained quiet as the Christian population of Turkey have done?

In entering upon a war in Turkey, Mr. Cobden concludes, "We are not fighting for the dominion of the Christian population of Turkey and against the interest of the great body of the people of that country. This is merely a religious question between the Russian army on the one side and the Turkish on

of Russia. The British interests were all on the side of Prussia. The extent of their trade with Russia was enormous. If the export trade to Russia was to be mainly by sea, the trans-shipment of goods to Russia would result in British laboring under the Protectionist disadvantage. However their imports from Russia amounted to £130,000,000. With the exception of the United States, there was no other foreign country with which their trade was so important as with Russia. If England was going away, why were they sending land navies to Turkey instead of exclusively using their navy? If the time had come for the contest between Cossackism and Republicanism, why were Prussia, Austria and the great German state, Belgium, France, Sweden and England, not, without exception, all on the side of England, but, without exception, all on the side of Russia? If this were the

question of European importance, was it not to be supposed that those who were nearest to the danger would be the first to fight? Mr. Cobden concluded by declaring that "he was opposed to the war with Russia." He thought "the best thing was to fall back upon the Vienna note."

Lord John Manners considered that the Government were to blame for their supineness and false security. The communications originally made by Lord Clarendon to the Governments of Russia, France and Turkey, in which, instead of acting in accordance with France, Lord Clarendon persisted in refusing so to co-operate, and made known to the Government of Russia that

England would not cooperate with the Emperor of Russia to give Prince Menchikoff the orders which led to the whole catastrophe. It was no wonder that when England at last announced her intention to interfere actually at Constantinople, the Government of France should entertain some doubt as to the sincerity of her Majesty's Government. It was not England that advised the Porte to reject Prince Menchikoff's ultimatum, but, on the contrary, the Ministers of the Sultan acted upon their own responsibility, and without any hope of the assistance of England. After the occupation of the Principality by the Russians, the prolonged diplomatic negotiations